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THE Nation

April 25, 1953
20¢

How Far Dare We Push China?

by W. Macmahon Ball

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The Mess in Indo-China — *Helen Mears*

Mau Mau Terror — *L. S. B. Leakey*

Monsters and Men — *H. H. Wilson*
A Review of T. K. Quinn's "Big Business"

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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Around the U.S.A.

The Great Crusade Takes a Header

Topeka, Kan.

AFTER all the Republican screaming about the "Missouri gang" and the "5 percenters" who operated in Washington under Truman, the Administration must have been shocked and humiliated to have the Republican-controlled Kansas legislature uncover facts which branded the chairman of the National Committee an accomplished "Kansas 10 percenter," leader of a clique closely allied with big utility interests and notoriously engaged for the past fifteen years in activities closely resembling "influence peddling."

Specifically, Mr. Roberts was censured for having violated the spirit of a state anti-lobbying law when without registering as a lobbyist he engineered a deal through which the taxpapers bought for $110,000 a tuberculosis sanatorium building which the Kansas Attorney General and many other lawyers declared was already owned by the state. Mr. Roberts was paid a fee of $11,000 for this piece of work.

It is regrettable that the Kansas legislative committee did not go on to show how Roberts obtained his power and influence and who induced President Eisenhower to make him chairman of the National Committee, with that post's far-reaching control of patronage. For some mysterious reason the committee did not even try to bring out the details of Mr. Roberts's work for the Cities Service Gas Company, though Mr. Roberts admitted that the company paid him $3,750 just to keep an eye on how the legislators were performing. He denied that this fee was for lobbying, but coincident with its payment the Cities Service Company obtained a long-sought objective. For fifteen years the big utility company had been trying to get the legislature to empower it to take over abandoned wells throughout the state for use as gas-storage facilities. It was never able to do so until it employed Mr. Roberts.

Frank Carlson, the junior United States Senator from Kansas, is generally credited with having influenced the President to pick Roberts to direct the Republican National Committee. But undoubtedly other powerful forces were active in Roberts's behalf. Eisenhower and the president of the Cities Service Company are such close friends that the latter journeyed all the way to Georgia just to play a round of golf with Ike when he took his first rest trip South after his inauguration. In fact, Roberts's climb to power in Kansas party politics had a "gas-company aroma" from the beginning.

• The son of the publisher of a small-town weekly, C. Wesley Roberts entered public service in the middle thirties as a clerk in a Kansas port-of-entry station. When Payne H. Ratner was elected Governor in 1938, Roberts, who had worked at campaign headquarters in association with State Chairman Walter Fees, an oil and gas man, was given the job of executive secretary to the Governor. Soon after the election Governor Ratner and his family took a vacation cruise through the Caribbean, and it was established in a United States Senate investigation conducted by the late Senator from Kansas, Clyde M. Reed, that the money for the cruise was furnished by the Cities Service Gas Company.

That was the first evidence of a connection between Roberts's political associates and the utilities company. More was to come. Shortly after Ratner took office, with Roberts as his executive secretary, the Governor's State Tax Commission lowered the assessed valuation of the gas company's properties in Kansas some two million dollars.

When Fees retired as Republican state chairman, Roberts took over the job. He remained as executive secretary under Governor Frank Carlson and served as campaign manager for Carlson when the Governor moved on to the United States Senate. Roberts retired as state chairman in the fall of 1950 and set himself up as a "public-relations counsel." It was in that capacity that he engineered the "10 per cent" deal through which the taxpayers bought a building they probably already owned and collected the $3,750 from the Cities Service Company.

• Although originally a Taft man, Roberts climbed on the Eisenhower bandwagon early in the campaign, and along with Senator Carlson traveled with the candidate on most of the campaign tours. He was credited with such astute work in the '52 "crusade for votes" that Senator Carlson had no trouble getting him made chairman of the Republican National Committee. As soon as he was installed in his new job, he began to make moves which indicated that a new "Kansas gang" might be in the making to take over where the "Missouri gang" had left off. Unquestionably it was at the urging of Senator Carlson and Roberts—aided by the real-estate lobby—that Kansas's lame-duck Congressman, Albert M. Cole, was appointed to administer the Federal Housing and Home Finance Agency, despite the fact that throughout his Congressional career Cole had done everything in his power to cripple this agency.

At the time he was forced to resign his National Committee chairmanship under fire, Roberts, along with Senator Carlson, was also promoting, with apparent success, the nomination of Jeff A. Robertson, chairman of the Kansas Corporation Commission, as one of the new members of the Federal Power Commission. Robertston is known throughout Kansas as the "darling" of the big utility corporations, especially the Bell Telephone Company, to which his commission has granted several rate increases. It is said that a number of other key posts were scheduled to go to Kansans at the behest of Carlson and Roberts.

Now that Roberts is "out," we can hope that the President will use more care in selecting the men whom he expects to help restore confidence in the national government.

W. G. CLUGSTON

[*W. G. Clugston is the author of "Politics in Kansas," "Eisenhower for President?" and other books on public affairs.*]

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Something for Nothing?

There is no question about the relief and hope with which the world responded to President Eisenhower's speech last week. His tone was sincere, his solemn pledge that the United States would join in the search for a just peace was backed by an impressive commitment to devote a substantial part of "any savings achieved by real disarmament" to the struggle against poverty and need. The desperate craving everywhere for an end to arms and to wars cold and hot created a welcome in which there was little room for doubt or criticism. Even the Russians played up the "positive" aspects of the speech.

But second thoughts are cropping up. People have had a chance to reexamine the President's proposals; the Secretary of State has amplified and commented upon them. Almost reluctantly, informed observers are beginning to ask how the conditions laid down by Messrs. Eisenhower and Dulles can possibly provide the basis for a negotiated settlement. In effect what the foreign-policy chiefs of the American government are saying is that the Kremlin can have peace if it is ready to abandon forthwith its domination over Eastern Europe—that is, dismantle its defense system—while accepting as the prerequisite of a peaceful continent, NATO, the European army, and a Germany unified, armed, and integrated in the Western defense system. In the cold light of the morning after, this formula for total victory in the cold war seemed to overshadow the President's more feasible and moderate demands for specific proofs of Moscow's desire for conciliation, such as the release of World War II prisoners still held by Russia and the prompt signing of the Austrian treaty.

Language of the Cold War

Quite as dubious as their plan for peace in Europe were the Eisenhower-Dulles conditions for the Far East. Fortunately they left the exchange of disabled war prisoners, now going forward successfully at Panmunjom, to the military men in charge. It would be worse than sad if these first smooth steps toward a truce were to end in a political quagmire.

President Eisenhower called for the conclusion of an armistice and the prompt initiation of talks "leading to the holding of free elections in a united Korea." This is fantasy, as the President and his advisers know. It will take many months and a process of massive rehabilitation, on both sides of the line, before Korea can be united and free elections held. The Russians could not work this miracle if they wanted, though they could cooperate with the United Nations to help bring it ultimately to pass.

Nor could the Russians call off what the President described as "direct and indirect attacks on Indo-China and Malaya." The war in Indo-China, particularly, is first of all a colonial war, an attempt to crush by military power a native struggle for independence. That Moscow and Peking are backing the rebel forces goes without saying; whether Ho Chi-minh would knuckle under to the French-Vietnam army on orders from the Kremlin is a different and very questionable matter.

Mr. Dulles dwelt at length on this nation's mounting commitments to the anti-Communist crusade in Asia, based upon our conviction that "our Eastern friends from Japan, Korea, and Formosa to Indo-China and Malaya, face a single hostile front, to be met by a common purpose and a growing cooperation between the component parts of freedom."

This is the language of the cold war, not of diplomacy and negotiation. Most earnestly we commend to the attention of both the President and his Secretary of State the article on page 342 by W. Macmahon Ball, a man whose knowledge and official experience of Far Eastern affairs tops those of both American leaders. His suggestions bring a welcome note of realism into today's speculations.

First Korea, Now Kenya

The conviction of Jomo Kenyatta and five of his chief lieutenants on a charge of having organized the Mau Mau secret society in Kenya and his subsequent sentence to seven years' hard labor invests L. S. B. Leakey's article in this issue with especial interest. Mr. Leakey's matter-of-fact account of the vicissitudes of the Kikuyu tribe throws a most revealing light on the origins of Mau Mau terror. The failure of the press to give adequate coverage to the fifty-eight-day trial of Kenyatta—one of the major political trials of recent years—was in glaring contrast

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In This Issue

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 337

The Middle East's Link with World Peace 340

ARTICLES

Shift to Geneva *by J. Alvarez del Vayo* 341

Testing China: How Far Dare We Go? *by W. Macmahon Ball* 342

Our Newest War: The Mess in Indo-China *by Helen Mears* 344

Mau Mau Terror: Fear, Freedom—and Magic *by L. S. B. Leakey* 345

Negro Teachers: Martyrs to Integration? *by Oliver C. Cox* 347

Failure in Austria: Poor People Get Poorer *by Charles A. Hoffman* 348

BOOKS

Monsters and Men *A Review by H. H. Wilson* 350

New Books in Brief 351

THEATER *by Harold Clurman* 353

FILMS *by Manny Farber* 354

RECORDS *by B. H. Haggin* 354

ART NOTES 355

LETTERS 356

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 513 *by Frank W. Lewis* 356

AROUND THE U. S. A. The Great Crusade Takes a Header *by W. G. Clugston* opposite 337

Editorial Board

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to the space it has devoted to reports of the terror.

On occasion, certainly, the terrorists have lived up to their reputation for senseless violence, as when, at Lari, an armed gang of 300 or more attacked and murdered 150 defenseless tribesmen—the movement's most hated enemies are now the natives who will not conform. Incidents of this sort, sensationally reported, have obscured the gravity of the social crisis in Kenya, which may yet spread to other parts of Africa. World opinion should be warned that peace in Korea might well be followed by a form of mass terror in Kenya that is merely another name for war—war fought in the dead of night by desperate natives armed with spears and shotguns rather than by tanks and jet planes operating in the light of day under the eyes of the newsreel cameras.

Bonus for the duPonts

The nomination of Judge Stanley N. Barnes of Los Angeles as Assistant Attorney General in charge of the vital Anti-Trust Division conforms to the general pattern of the new Administration's appointments. Judge Barnes will not extend the horizons of the Anti-Trust Division. Not only does he lack the special qualifications for this strategic post, such as some economic training or background, but he holds ultra-conservative views. It may be taken for granted that he will look with favor on the campaign, already well under way, to induce the Department of Justice to drop a dozen or more crucially important anti-trust prosecutions now pending.

This latest appointment is a major "bonus" for the big-business interests that supported President Eisenhower. Politically it is another demonstration that California patronage is firmly controlled by Governor Warren and not by Vice-President Nixon or Senators Knowland and Kuchel. Judge Barnes was appointed to the Los Angeles Superior Court by Warren and like the Governor has been active in the affairs of the University of California alumni association. With his former assistant Warren Olney now in charge of criminal prosecutions in the Department of Justice, and Judge Barnes at the anti-trust desk, does Governor Warren plan to succeed Mr. Brownell one of these days?

Rolling Back the New Deal

Another interesting nominee of the new Administration is that of Ralph D. Demmler as a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Mr. Demmler, who is slated to be the new chairman, is a member of the largest law firm in Pittsburgh—Reed, Smith, Shaw, and McClay, with which the late Senator David Reed was associated—a former officer of the Commonwealth Trust Company, and a friend of Secretary George M. Humphrey, who recommended him for the post. To induce Mr. Demmler to accept the appointment, at "a big

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financial sacrifice," the President is said to have promised him a free hand in reorganizing the commission, including the privilege of passing on future nominees. The resignation of Donald C. Cook has already created one vacancy, and Richard E. McEntire is expected to resign soon. What is likely to happen to the S. E. C. under the new dispensation is suggested by the comments of Leslie Gould, financial editor of the New York *Journal-American,* who exclusively forecast the appointment of Mr. Demmler. "The S. E. C. has deteriorated since it started twenty years ago. It is in need of a reorganization . . . there is some question whether this can be done without winding it up and making a new start." The S. E. C. under Mr. Demmler's chairmanship will, it is obvious, call for careful and continuous scrutiny.

The Bloody Fifth Act

South Africa's tragedy is unrolling with all the inevitability of Greek epic drama. Frightened by native reaction to repressive measures, the white minority has voted for more repression, setting the stage for an authoritarian one-party state, banishing the last hope of peaceful progress based on race cooperation.

In last week's election Prime Minister Malan's Nationalist Party increased its popular vote but still failed to achieve a plurality. However, the massive overrepresentation of the rural areas, where most of its strength lies, allowed it to double its Parliamentary majority. The Nationalist government seems to be in an almost impregnable position, and faced only with a weak and vacillating opposition, it is likely in the next four years to take steps that will insure the perpetuation of its power. Its program includes emasculation of the Supreme Court, the one remaining bulwark of constitutional liberties, abolition of the franchise for the "colored" (mixed) population of Cape Province, tightening of the segregation laws, prohibition of any kind of native labor organization, and discriminatory measures against the English-speaking section of the community.

The Nationalist triumph can hardly fail to turn the native African organizations to desperate courses. With all legal avenues of protest blocked, with even passive disobedience punishable by savage floggings and jail sentences, the moderate leaders who up to now have maintained an amazing discipline, are likely to be thrust aside. No doubt for a time the government's machine-guns can keep revolution in check. But since 2,500,000 whites cannot indefinitely hold in a condition of near-slavery four times as many Africans, colored, and Indians, a bloody fifth act is all too probable.

Any Bids for a Museum?

Former President Herbert Hoover wants the federal government to "get out of the business of generating and distributing power as soon as possible." Specifically he feels that Congress should appropriate no more funds for projects intended solely for the generation of power —a dig at the T. V. A.'s program of enlarging steam-plant capacity—or for multiple-purpose projects unless provision is made that the power output be "leased" to private industry or to cities, states, or state-managed regional authorities. Such a policy, Mr. Hoover estimates, would save the government $600,000,000 a year and halt "creeping socialism." Charles E. (General Electric) Wilson made a similar proposal last fall but Mr. Wilson wanted the government to dispose of the Post office, as well as to "denationalize" industry by selling the T. V. A.

The fairly wide condemnation that has greeted both proposals seems to have missed their real significance. We doubt that Messrs. Hoover and Wilson believe that the people would readily permit the federal government to liquidate its investment in public-power projects; the *Wall Street Journal* drily comments that Mr. Hoover's proposal "may not bear early fruit in legislation." But there is real danger that discussion of these suggestions may divert attention from the tidelands-oil issue and certain proposals which, if enacted, would permit a handful of industrial interests to muscle in on the atomic-energy program. Messrs. Hoover and Wilson are thinking of the future, not of the past.

The day before Mr. Hoover unveiled this latest example of elder statesmanship, the press reported that the house in which he lived as a boy in Newberg, Oregon, would be restored to its original appearance and preserved as a museum. We trust that no public funds will be used, and that once the structure is restored it will be sold to the highest bidder for cash and operated thereafter for private profit.

Not-So-Free Enterprise

The Administration has repeatedly expressed its devotion to the principles of government economy and competitive free enterprise. Practice, apparently, is another matter, for both principles were violated when the Army Engineers, with the approval of Secretary of Defense Wilson, rejected all bids on two contracts for generators and transformers to be installed at Chief Joseph Dam on the Columbia River. Low bids in both cases were received from a leading British firm which submitted prices 11.4 per cent and 16.8 per cent, respectively, less than the lowest American offers. In announcing its action the army merely stated that it "reserves the right to reject any and all bids." But surely some further explanation is in order. The refusal of a saving totaling $840,000 is a curious way of cutting government expenses. The apparent discrimination against a foreign company is a queer method of illustrating our frequent lectures to European industry about the importance of making their economy more competitive.

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The Middle East's Link With World Peace

ON ISRAEL'S fifth anniversary it is evident that its principal need is peace with its neighbors.

Herculean labors, sacrifice, imagination, and austerity have produced a democratic oasis in the feudal Middle East. The population of the country has grown 120 per cent. In Israel now is the largest portion of the Jewish survivors of Hitlerism, who, but for Israel, could not have found homes and rehabilitation, as well as large numbers of Oriental Jews, unexpected refugees from persecution in North Africa and the Middle East. With the population have grown also agricultural and industrial production, education, and cultural development.

But what this little democratic outpost still urgently needs is an international climate of peace and good-will which will allow it to develop normally, in friendship with its neighbors, and without getting imbroiled in the East-West tensions.

This need for international equilibrium and the settlement of the Palestine war has been strikingly demonstrated by the march of events in 1953. The year's beginning saw the shocking charge that a group of Jewish doctors were the instruments of a "Zionist-inspired conspiracy" against the Soviet state at the behest of the Western powers. Ruptured diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel followed.

ON MARCH 5 Stalin died and almost exactly a month later—on April 4—the charges against the doctors were withdrawn and they were released by the Soviet authorities. On April 17 the Soviet Minister of Justice warned that the preaching of racial hatred or scorn in the Soviet Union would be punished by law, and in the United Nations Mr. Vishinsky, on April 15, reiterated the government's withdrawal of the charges against the doctors, the intention of punishing those responsible for them, and gave assurances that "the restoration of truth is one of the fundamental aspects of the U. S. S. R."

Unhappily, in the interval between accusation and withdrawal, the seeds sown found fertile soil in the Arab countries, as was shockingly demonstrated by Arab statements in the United Nations last week. It was a campaign animated by two considerations—genuine hatred of Israel and an astute sense of the trading value that a flirtation with Russia could produce in possible returns from the West.

The delegate of Syria openly stated that the stand taken by the Soviet Union on Zionism and the severance of relations with Israel "are in our view an indication of a good understanding by the Soviet Union of the realities of the situation in the Middle East. . . . We see nothing strange in the Soviet attitude except that it was delayed."

The Arab bloc, borrowing literally from the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," charged that the Zionist movement represents an "orderly fifth column," which has for its purpose the subversion of every government in the interests of the Zionist objective. The Arabs charged that these groups, when they cannot otherwise secure their objectives, do not hesitate to turn to murder, and would even start a war to destroy their opponents.

At the same time, fearful lest the Soviet Union restore relations with Israel, the delegate of Syria added: "We have substantial reasons to believe that Zionism today is trying hard either to compromise its differences with the Soviet Union and the countries of the Peoples' Democracies to secure support and immigration, or to incite, with all its means, a destructive war against them."

ISRAEL was compelled out of self-respect to reply to the Arabs. It was this necessity which precipitated the new attack of "Zionism" on April 16 by the delegate of Czechoslovakia, who could not swallow the statement of Ambassador Eban that "events in Prague and Moscow have had a dire effect on the political and moral atmosphere of the Middle East." Ignored was Israel's expression of satisfaction with Moscow's repudiation of the "doctors' plot." But violent exception was taken to Eban's statement: "The central question to be watched with all vigilance is whether, as we hope, the repudiation denotes an intention to eliminate all over Eastern Europe the entire atmosphere which accompanied and followed the propagation of the original libels."

The delegate of Czechoslovakia made it clear that, for the time being at least, the Eastern bloc will not abandon the political advantages to be gained from pursuing the anti-Zionist line in the Middle Eastern countries. Reading from a prepared text, he stated that he agreed with the Arab delegates who had exposed "the imperialistic threat of Zionism."

Vishinsky's repudiation of responsibility for Arab anti-Semitism betrayed continuing Russian sensitivity to international reaction to anti-Semitism, despite his sharp attack on Israel. But certainly he held out no hope for early resumption of Russian-Israeli relations.

As long as there is no settlement of the Palestine war, the Arab states and the Soviet bloc will take advantage of every opportunity to use the disturbed situation for their own interests. Both Israel and the Arab states require peace. With peace there can be a settlement of the Arab-refugee problem and substantial aid for the development of this highly important area. Above all, the international community needs peace, for the continued instability of this highly strategic area makes for the insecurity of all the rest of us. At a moment when the climate for peace seems to have improved, earnest consideration should be given in the U. N. and elsewhere to producing the incentive for ending the Palestine war.

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Shift to Geneva

United Nations

WITH the second session of the Seventh Assembly nearing its close and the delegates relieved by the word that the United Nations Supreme Command in Korea has been authorized to accept the Communist proposal for an early renewal of truce talks, interest has shifted to Geneva, where the experts' meeting on East-West trade has just begun. This session, which the Russians are attending, will tell whether it will be possible within the next few months to hold a full-scale conference on the subject, thus realizing the constant ambition of Gunnar Myrdal, the able and imaginative Swedish economist who is secretary general of the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe.

Both Western and Eastern Europe may find in renewed trade between capitalist and Communist countries a solution for their present difficulties. And Western Europe is in a much stronger position than many Americans believe. A recent study by a group of French economic experts, "The Economic Power of Europe," published by the Institut International d'Archéocivilization, contains a series of comparative figures that may surprise American readers. For example, as regards hydroelectric energy, Western Europe has 108,400,000,000 kilowatts as compared with 96,000,000,000 for the United States and 23,100,000,000 for the Soviet Union. Among products suitable for export, Western Europe has 36,900,000 tons of cereals, the United States 31,700,000, and the Soviet Union 96,600,000; Western Europe's share of the output of dairy products is 75,320,000 tons, that of the United States 55,321,000, and that of the Soviet Union 43,000,000. It is on the basis of such figures that Professor Paul Rivet has developed his concept of a Western Europe politically independent and economically "liberated from servitude to the rest of the world in general and the United States in particular." But Western Europe would be less anxiously dependent on the dollars that today influence its politics so decisively if it could find new sources of imports and new markets for its exports through trade with the Communist world.

Take the case of Great Britain. That country has made a tremendous effort to reduce its financial and economic dependence on the United States. The 1953-54 budget introduced in Commons by Chancellor of the Exchequer R. A. Butler proves how successful the effort has been. But a larger trade with Russia and the other Communist countries of Eastern Europe would not only mean new markets but also free Britain from its continuing monetary troubles. The East does not work with money but with goods, and in Britain's present situation a barter trade of this kind is just what it needs.

France is equally interested. It was on the basis of a French motion, approved by twenty-four of the twenty-five nations represented at the annual session of the Economic Commission for Europe, that the Geneva meeting of April 13 took place. France feels the ill effects of the restricted international trade. In the next few months it faces a most acute economic crisis caused by the lack of foreign markets, an accelerated flight of gold, increasing unemployment, and an internal situation fraught with political and social perils. Allowing for obvious differences of degree, the same thing applies to the rest of Western Europe. The only exception is Switzerland, whose currency is in excellent condition; the other countries find their gold and dollar reserves inadequate to cover indispensable imports.

Commerce between East and West is part of the European economic tradition. Western Europe has always been accustomed to exchanging its manufactured products for raw materials and other necessary goods from the East. It can still provide Russia and the satellite countries not only with industrial and transport equipment and such manufactured goods as artificial yarns, fibers, and textiles, but also with agricultural produce, vegetables, fish, and so forth. In exchange, Russia and its neighbors can send to Western Europe grain, timber, manganese and chromium ores, furs, asbestos, anthracite, and oil.

At the Moscow economic conference held last year the desire of certain industrialists from the West to trade with the Soviet bloc proved stronger than the obstacles which various governments placed in the way of their pilgrimage to Moscow. And yet that conference had an obvious propaganda aspect which the Geneva meeting lacks and which kept away many potential traders. Also, the economic situation was then less favorable. Today Russia's conciliatory gestures toward the West work in favor of the Myrdal plan. Western European financial circles view with great concern the existing situation in which even minor economic fluctuations in the United States, such as may result from a lessening of international tension or from cuts in aid to Europe, could seriously jolt the economy of Western Europe.

No miracles should be expected from the Geneva meeting or from the full-scale conference that may stem from it. West-East trade on a large scale cannot be reestablished overnight. There are influential business interests in the United States that oppose trade of any kind with the Soviet bloc and urge the kind of embargo which is being applied to Communist China. But there are also important American business men who have a broader outlook. A step forward at Geneva followed by a successful plenary conference might contribute more than any other single thing toward normalizing international relations and lessening the danger of war.

[*Mr. Del Vayo has left for Europe. His next article, on the meeting of the Council of NATO in Paris, will appear in the issue of May 9.*]

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TESTING CHINA

How Far Dare We Go? . . . *by W. Macmahon Ball*

Melbourne, Australia

WHAT are the things we Westerners really want in the Far East? And what are the means at our disposal for getting them? If the new negotiations in Korea can open a way to a wider and lasting settlement, this is the moment for us to do some hard thinking.

The solid core of Western policy, stripped of its embellishments and variations, is the same in the East as in the West. It has two aims. The first is to avoid war—not only to end local wars in Korea and Indo-China but to achieve a situation that will cut down the risks of a third world war. The second, inseparable from the first, is to maintain and if possible improve our relative power position against the Communist world.

It is easy to state these aims but appallingly hard to know how best to organize and distribute the material and moral means at our disposal. Our material strength is made up of arms and fighting forces, with the industrial and economic resources that sustain them. Our moral strength is created by the sense of common interests and good-will of our friends and those we might win as friends. Moral and material strength do not always go together. At times the increase of our material strength may reduce our moral strength in a particular area—when, for example, we station garrisons in a foreign country that resents their presence—and it is often hard to decide whether this brings a net increase or reduction in our total strength. Nor can we hope to be strong everywhere in the world at the same time. In general it will be best to concentrate our material forces—our bases and garrisons—in areas where they have strong moral support rather than in those in which widespread hostility to their presence reduces their actual military effectiveness.

It is fatally easy at a moment like the present, when Communist governments are making some conciliatory gestures, to overestimate the ability of military strength to extract concessions or withdrawals. Some people are now excitedly declaring that since it was clearly the application of force that made the Communist leaders see a little reason, if we use more force they will see more reason. Some seem to believe that if we now raise our demands on China, and are prepared to back them with the threat

of more military aid to Chiang and perhaps the blockade and bombing of the mainland, we can overthrow the Communist regime. This line of thinking, or feeling, is a sort of hangover from the nineteenth century, when visits from Western gunboats resolved so many vexatious problems in East Asia. It is possible, though doubtful, that Western victory in a third world war might shake the authority of the Peking government, but it is as nearly certain as anything can be in human affairs that no lesser catastrophe could shake it. The days when the West could push the East around have gone forever.

Resolute resistance to the aggression in Korea, efforts to induce Japan to rearm, increased military aid in Formosa and Indo-China have perhaps made the Communists want to extricate themselves from a position that is becoming more difficult than they expected. But it does not follow from this that the application of more pressure would make them ready to make more concessions. If the Communist countries, like the Western countries, want to avoid a general war and at the same time want to avoid any over-all weakening of their military position, their policy will naturally show some flexibility, some readiness to withdraw in this or that particular area at a particular time. It would be ridiculous to conclude from this that they would be prepared to withdraw from positions they consider vital. To try to force them to do so might precipitate the general war we are so anxious to avoid. We should remember the mistake that Hitler made. When he found that force, or the threat of force, got him what he wanted in Czechoslovakia, Austria, and other places, he thought he had hit on an infallible recipe for expanding the Reich. It was almost inevitable that he should try it in Poland. And then the appeasers, despite their fears, hit back. Any Western effort to put pressure on China beyond a certain line will risk war. This is the line beyond which the Peking government feels it cannot withdraw without great injury to its prestige and its territorial security. Let us not delude ourselves that peace can be brought to East Asia by the strong dictating to the weak; it can only come from negotiation among equals.

THIS LEADS to a more specific question. To what extent do Western military bases in East Asia promote our two aims—peace and strength?

In so far as Western military power acts as a deterrent to Communist aggression, it is because of its over-all pre-

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ponderance rather than because of its local distribution. It is doubtful, for example, whether American military bases in Japan can give those islands effective protection against an attack from the mainland. The only effective protection is the fear in the Kremlin that if Russian bombs were dropped on Tokyo, in a very few hours American bombs would be dropped on Moscow. It is generally accepted, particularly after the Korean experience, that the West has neither the intention nor the ability to wage land campaigns in Asia. In a new general war the West's strategy in the Pacific would be based on sea and air power, working from islands and other distant bases. In these circumstances it is doubtful whether bases and garrisons in Asia increase the West's over-all strength. Their presence seems always to excite racial and nationalist resentments, even when, as in Japan, they are maintained by a friendly and protecting power. When they represent a Western effort to buttress a regime hated and scorned by its own people, they arouse deep and widespread hostility. The question is whether the military advantages are not overbalanced by the political disadvantages. Western armies, or Eastern armies only kept in being by Western aid, are not likely to have any appreciable effect on Asian nationalist movements except to strengthen their more inflexible Communist and anti-Western elements.

It would seem, therefore, that the planned withdrawal of Western military forces from East Asia is a condition of improved relations between East and West. The problem is how to withdraw them without deserting the principle of freedom the West has proclaimed and without weakening its over-all position. In the two main areas of conflict—Korea and Indo-China—the holding of free plebiscites is possibly the way to stability. To determine when a plebiscite is really free is always difficult, and exceptionally difficult in Eastern countries, where so many people are illiterate and vulnerable to traditional pressures, but the recent general elections in India show what can be done to give ordinary people something approaching a free choice. It might be possible for a United Nations commission composed of men from neutral countries, countries like India and Switzerland and Sweden, to hold plebiscites, say, one year after the armistice, in both Korea and Indo-China. The purpose of the plebiscites would be to elect in each country a national assembly to which the government would be responsible. Once this national government had been established, all foreign forces would be withdrawn, and members of the United Nations would recognize the government as legitimate.

THERE WOULD, of course, be dangers in this procedure. The divisions in both countries may be too deep and bitter to permit cooperation in a single government. The new governments might turn out to have Communist majorities, or might soon come under Communist control. The real question is whether it is not even more dangerous to try to prevent such an increase in Communist influence by Western military intervention. Nationalism seems to be more powerful than communism everywhere in East Asia. As long as the nationalist movements feel that the West is the main and immediate enemy, they will be forced to lean toward Moscow. We know that it is the common fear of Russia and communism that holds so many Western nations together. Have we not enough imagination to realize that it is a similar common fear of the West that holds so many Communist nations together? If that fear were to diminish, Mao Tse-tung would almost certainly become more concerned to guard against China's interests being subordinated to Russia's, and Ho Chi-minh would be more eager to resist any threat of Chinese domination. If the West wants to keep China bound to Russia and other Communist-led nationalist movements in East Asia bound to China, the best way to insure this is by military intervention in East Asia.

The West's military withdrawal from East Asia would not mean that it was losing interest in the region. On the contrary it would open new opportunities for technical and economic cooperation, for helping the new nations of East Asia to secure themselves against domination by either the Communist or the Western world.

It goes without saying that if peaceful settlements are to be negotiated in East Asia, they must be negotiated with Communist China, not with the Nationalist regime in Formosa. If Peking is prepared to support arrangements by which the people of Korea and Indo-China freely decide their own future, it should not be too difficult for both Communist China and Japan to be received into the United Nations. These steps would not bring perfect harmony and peace, but they would be efforts to adjust Western policy to economic and political realities in East Asia.

Société Anonyme

He drives his lambent car over his jeweled, silken route;
With almost natural teeth, like Balzac's fabled ass, he feeds
On natural things, ejecting strictly cash. He speeds
Beside his princess and the royal kids. O fruit
Of fair exchange! O peace of movement! He glides among
the wonders of his Rome:
The classic concrete of the banks, the templed culture, the
articulate towers,
Electric cows rampant among electric flowers,
The cool, colonial good taste of the funeral home.

EDWIN MORGAN

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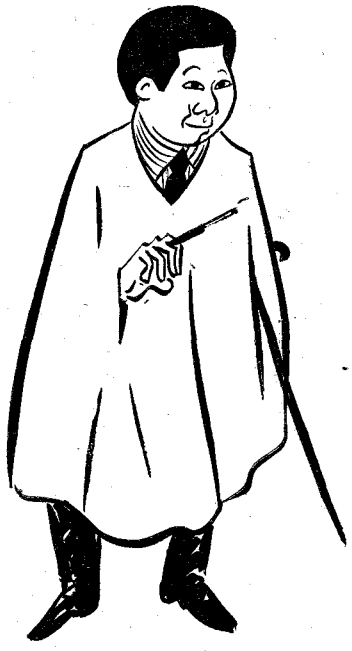
OUR NEWEST WAR

The Mess in Indo-China . . *by Helen Mears*

THE new "positive" American policy in Indo-China—made official in the joint American-French communique released after the visit of Premier René Mayer to Washington—not only puts the United



Emperor Bao Dai

States into the war in Indo-China but represents an anomalous shift from our previous position. Up to now the United States has insisted that the war in Korea is a "local" problem to be settled without reference to broader issues. Now it declares that the Korean and the Indo-China war are "interdependent." What are the Chinese to make of this? It is they who have insisted from the beginning that the Korean war was "interdependent" with other Far Eastern political problems, such as Formosa, China's representation in the U. N., and the United States build-up of Chiang Kai-shek's military strength. If the United States continues to maintain that the Korean war is still "local" as far as China is concerned but "interdependent" with United States-French policies in Southeast Asia, the Chinese have no alternative but to assume that we are only seeking peace in Korea the better to wage war elsewhere.

As an answer to the Communist peace offensive the joint communiqué is inept. In fact, it seems ready-made to strengthen Communist propaganda. To equate the French war in Indo-China with the U. N. police action in Korea, on any terms whatever, is to jeopardize the legal authority of the action in Korea or to discredit United States sincerity in relation to the U. N. Up to now the United States government has found the legal and moral authority for its course in Korea in the powers delegated to it by the U. N. As an ally of the French in Indo-China it has no such authority. We assert of course that in Indo-China as in Korea the fighting is part of the pattern of "Communist aggression" and that this justifies our aid to France. The U. N., however, has not made any such declaration, nor has it authorized or approved any military intervention in Indo-China. In fact, a look at the record strongly suggests that if the U. N. should take an official position it would condemn the French as it condemned the Dutch in Indonesia.

In our current preoccupation with Communist aggression we tend to forget the important role played by Asian nationalism during the war. In both Indonesia and Indo-China, as in Korea, native nationalists had long resented foreign rule. The Japanese "liberated" these countries and set up "independent" native governments headed by nationalists. When the Japanese were defeated and the Dutch and French attempted to regain control, the native peoples resisted. The Dutch and French used increasing force, and savage warfare resulted.

In Indonesia the U. N. intervened to the extent of passing resolutions of censure and sending investigating commissions to the scene. Although the Dutch insisted that Indonesia was purely an "internal" affair and not within the jurisdiction of the U. N., the Security Council and Assembly decided otherwise and recorded their disapproval. Rumors of intervention in Indo-China kept appearing in the press, but nothing was done. Comment in general agreed that if no charges against France were made in the U. N., it was partly because the French had the veto in the Security Council—Holland had no such protection—and partly because Britain and the United States opposed such action. The United States did press the French to come to terms with the Vietnam nationalists and, according to newspaper reports, warned France that if some nation should bring a charge against it in the Security Council, France could not necessarily count on United States support.

THE CURRENT French position in Indo-China seems morally and legally weak. Politically the situation is complex. In March 1945, the Japanese, who had occupied the country, proclaimed the "complete independence" of Annam and Cambodia, and Emperor Bao Dai announced the abrogation of the Franco-Annamese treaty of 1886. Cambodia and Laos also made declarations of independence. Meanwhile Ho Chi-minh had organized the guerrillas which fought against both Vichy France and the Japanese and worked with the Western Allies. After the Japanese rout Ho's resistance forces formed the "Vietnam Republic," which merged with the "independent" Bai Dai regime. Bao Dai abdicated as Emperor in order "to be a free citizen in an independent country," and Ho became President. In March, 1946, the French made an agreement with this Vietnam Republic, promising to give it genuine independence within the frame of a projected French Union. They delayed so long, however, about

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working out the details that fighting broke out—each side accused the other of starting it—and has been more or less continuous ever since.

To gain some native support against the Vietnam Republic the French set up a rival "provisional government" in June, 1947, thus adding to the tension and confusion. Later, under urging from the United States government, which favored the development of independent native regimes attached to France in a union modeled after the British Commonwealth, they worked out plans for three "independent" states to be known as the Associated States of Indo-China. In this set-up the French were to control foreign policy and the army and retain safeguards for their economic interests. In the meantime Bao Dai had broken with the Vietnam Republic and gone abroad, but the French persuaded him to return as head of a new French-sponsored "Vietnam Republic." To forestall the rumored recognition of this by the United States and Britain, the U. S. S. R., in early 1950, recognized the original republic. Shortly afterward the United States and Britain recognized the independence of the French-sponsored regimes of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The major Asian nations have refused to do so.

The French, of course, have charged —and of late the United States has echoed the charge—that the original Vietnam Republic of Ho and his Vietminh is dominated by Communists working in the interest of the Kremlin. But the facts as reported by American newspaper correspondents strongly suggest that, whatever the extent of Communist influence, the major operative factor has been and is nationalism. Ho Chi-minh was a nationalist, anti-monarchist revolutionary before the Russian Revolution. Anti-Communist newspapers and periodicals in this country have consistently emphasized the limited amount of "independence" granted to the new regimes by the French and have quoted the expressed dissatisfaction of anti-Communist nationalists with continued French control of foreign policy, military affairs, and the economy. Even Bao Dai, whose anti-communism seems unquestionable, complains of the slow progress toward independence. The French in turn are disappointed in Bao Dai, who has shown extreme disinclination to lead troops in the field.

Since 1946 the French have spent about $5,700,000,000 on the war in Indo-China. For the past few years the United States has paid up to one-third of the cost. Now it appears that the United States is prepared to step up its contribution.

Our linking of Korea with Indo-China will prove an irretrievable blunder unless we accept the full implications of this policy and open the door to negotiation of all the interdependent issues in the Far East.

MAU MAU TERROR

Fear, Freedom—and Magic . . *by L. S. B. Leakey*

Nairobi, Kenya

THE Kikuyu tribe, from which the vast majority of the Mau Mau terrorists are drawn, is the largest single tribe in Kenya. Since it is also one of the most advanced with respect to education, social welfare, and political institutions, many people have wondered that it should have given birth to the Mau Mau organization, which commits such terrible atrocities and practices the most primitive magic. To understand how Mau Mau came into existence, one must look back at the history of the tribe for the last sixty years or more.

Early European explorers and travelers, making their way on foot through East Africa toward Uganda, customarily gave Kikuyuland a wide berth, knowing that the people were hostile to Europeans and resented any intrusion into their territory. But the Kikuyu country, though densely populated, produced large amounts of food, and soon a trade sprang up between the travelers and the tribesmen. The caravans used to halt for days on the southern edge of Kikuyuland to exchange trade goods —beads, cotton cloth, and wire—for maize, beans, bananas, and millet. Although the Kikuyu objected to the caravans entering their territory, they were more than willing to come out to meet them and benefit by the trade thus established.

Writing of the Kikuyu in these early days, various European explorers noted the very intensive agriculture that was practiced to support a population which at that time had a density of from 300 to 400 persons per square mile. By 1902, when the first British settlers arrived in search of land, conditions in the southern Kikuyu country had been greatly changed by a succession of disasters. A smallpox epidemic had reduced the population, according to some estimates, as much as 50 per cent; an outbreak of the rinderpest had killed off thousands of cattle; a severe drought had caused one famine and an invasion of locusts another.

Finding the population depleted and a good deal of land reverted to bush, the early immigrants thought the area well adapted to settlement. Moreover, from their point of view it was most advantageously situated, lying as it did within a few miles of Nairobi, which was then just coming into existence as a small railway town. Not unnaturally, therefore, the settlers sought permission to occupy part of this land, and permission was granted. If the government had known the basis of the Kiku-

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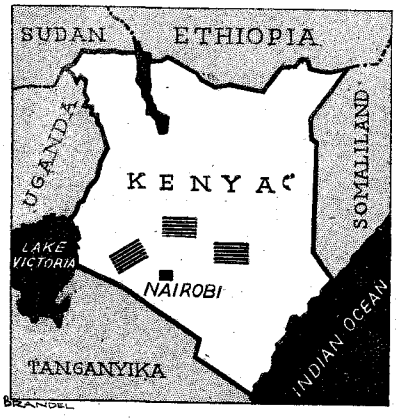
yus' property rights in the region, it would certainly not have consented to this alienation of their land.

THE KIKUYU tribe had grown up in the country farther to the north, around what is now known as Fort Hall, but as its numbers increased, it spread both



northward toward Mount Kenya, into what is now called the Nyeri district, and southward across the Chania River, into the Kiambu district, what I have called the southern part of Kikuyuland. It took over the Nyeri district by the "right of first user"—cutting down the forest and marking out family and individual estates. But when it started to move southward across the Chania River, it found the country occupied by the Wanderobo tribe, which had divided it into immense privately owned hunting zones. Each zone was clearly marked by natural boundaries within which one family claimed the exclusive right to hunt, trap, gather honey, and collect the wild edible fruits and roots. The Wanderobo undoubtedly regarded these hunting lands as their personal property.

The Kikuyu, by virtue of their numerical strength and organized fighting force, could have invaded the country south of the Chania and taken it away from the Wanderobo, but they did not do so. They firmly believed that the spirits of the dispossessed owners would prevent any successful harvest on land seized by force, and so they entered into negotiations with the Wanderobo families for the purchase of part of their hunting areas. The spirits of both tribes were properly propitiated and gave the transaction their blessing.

Thus all the land occupied by the Kikuyu between the Chania River and the territory of the Masai close to Nairobi was acquired by actual purchase. When the Europeans first passed through Kenya and started trading with the Kikuyu, it was owned by the wealthier families and occupied by them and their numerous tenants. When the white immigration started, it was still privately owned, though as the result of famine and disease only sparsely populated.

Unaware of these facts, the government of the time allowed Europeans to settle in the southern Kikuyu country, and the Europeans believed that they were acquiring outright ownership of the land. The Kikuyu, however, imagined that the occupation of these areas by the white man would be temporary, since they had not sold the land. It is true that some whites gave them money, but the Kikuyu took this to be payment for cultivation rights, since ownership of land could not change hands without certain elaborate religious ceremonies. Thus when the families which had fled from the region in the famine years began to come back, they were amazed to find that European settlers claimed the land as their property and refused to relinquish it.

In succeeding years the Kikuyus' desire to recover their old lands became very strong, and in 1922 they formed a political organization known as the Kikuyu Central Association whose principal object was to find a way of doing so. The fact that they had themselves acquired the land by purchase made their grievance still greater, and political agitators were not slow to exploit it.

THERE WERE, of course, other causes at work which prepared the ground for the agitators. The influx of whites and the accompanying religious, educational, and economic changes have broken down the well-tried social structure of the tribe and replaced it with very little of solid value. The medical services introduced by the Europeans have improved the health of the people and the schools have opened the door to economic progress, but unfortunately the new education has not adequately prepared the younger generation for the more complex way of life.

As literacy increased and as more and more of the young men were able to travel and see something of the outside world, the Kikuyu learned of the movements for independence and self-government going on in other colonial countries. Many became convinced that "self-government" would be the cure for all their troubles, and a group came into being which was determined to achieve it. Since the old belief in magic and witchcraft was still strong in the majority of the people, despite the fact that Christian missions had been at work in Kenya for fifty years, the organizers of the Mau Mau movement decided to make use of these deep-rooted superstitions for their own political ends. The Mau Mau oath is not an old and traditional oath at all, and in many ways it contravenes accepted Kikuyu rules for oath-taking ceremonies. Nevertheless, once taken, it is for most tribesmen absolutely binding, since they genuinely believe that if they break it, supernatural punishment will be visited upon themselves and their families, unless they have first been cleansed of its power.

In the earlier days of the Mau Mau movement recruiting was entirely voluntary, but gradually the leaders introduced the forcible administration of the oath to persons unwilling to join. It was essential to the success of their plans to have practically the whole population either actively involved or at least so bound by an oath that no one would give the active members away. If some more resolute Kikuyu resisted taking the oath, torture was used, and eventually it became necessary for the Mau Mau leaders to murder those who still refused, lest they report what had happened.

Fortunately for the country, certain men who had been forced to take the oath against their will preferred the risk of supernatural punishment to suffering silently the indignities inflicted on them. Through the brave action of these men the authorities discovered what was afoot, and the Mau Mau movement was declared to be unlawful. Not a few of those who denounced Mau Mau in this way were murdered by terrorist gangs; others had their houses burned over their heads. Some of the more reckless and lawless members of the organization also took upon themselves to attack individual Europeans, although it seems certain that the leaders' plans did not envisage such a step until their organization was more complete.

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NEGRO TEACHERS

Martyrs to Integration? . . . *by Oliver C. Cox*

Jefferson City, Mo.

THE abolition of segregation in the public schools and colleges of Missouri is now being debated in the legislature. Recently the House Public Schools Committee reported favorably a bill to eliminate segregation in the public schools, and the House has passed and sent to the Senate one stipulating that any qualified citizen shall be admitted "to any state-supported institution of higher learning without regard to race, color, or religion."

Although many white individuals and organizations are supporting this legislation, Negroes are naturally at the forefront of the movement. The whites have relied upon two principal arguments: that the bi-racial system increases costs, and that racial segregation in the schools has no moral sanction. Negroes have insisted not only that their self-respect as American citizens has been injured but that their right to acquire the national culture has been illegally abridged.

For Negro teachers, however, the issue is complicated by the possible effect of integration upon their chances of employment. "If segregation is abolished," some legislators are reported to have said, "all the colored teachers now employed in the public-school system will have to be discharged from their positions, and Lincoln University for Negroes may be closed as an economy measure." In neighboring Kansas, the Topeka *Daily Capital* disclosed a few weeks ago, school boards in the ten leading cities have already begun to "purge" Negro teachers on the ground that they "would not be welcome" in mixed schools.

Some Negro spokesmen consider this threat relatively trivial. In fact, one Negro newspaper asked recently: "Is that too great a sacrifice to pay for integration and a beginning toward real democratic living? . . . We cannot have our cake and eat it too." But while some selfless champions of democracy may think their employment and that of others are as nothing compared to the achievement of integration, this position seems to me in general unsound. Freedom to work is at least as sacred as the right to non-discrimination in education.

Indeed, education itself will have a decreasing value if the occasion to employ it is increasingly limited. One sometimes hears it said that Negro teachers "should prefer to dig ditches" rather than endure the disadvantages of segregated schools. But what about discrimination in the ditches? In the early nineteen thirties I saw Negroes fighting to the death on the streets of Chicago for an opportunity to work as laborers on paving jobs. It is unnecessary to multiply examples of the daily struggle of Negroes to secure their right to work. Moreover, the confidence of some individuals that they can always find another job is irrelevant, for the problem is not personal but social.

If Negro teachers must face unemployment as the price of the abolition of discrimination in education, the bargain is unacceptable. The integration of the elementary schools may, it is true, call for a reduction of plant and teaching staff, but in that case both Negro and white teachers should be released on some non-discriminatory basis, such as length of service or academic qualifications. And now is the time to insist upon this. To discharge only Negro teachers would be a most unconscionable act of racial discrimination. It would not only shatter the life organization of many families but darken the prospects of every Negro youth now planning to become a teacher.

While the abolition of segregation in the educational system of Missouri has already been too long delayed, it should not now be carried out so recklessly as to cause undue economic and educational hardship. Far from being a barrier to integration, an insistence that provision be made for the employment of Negro teachers is an indispensable test of the sincerity of the integration procedure. Anti-segregation legislation is important, but its proponents must remember that their real purpose is to enhance the welfare of a people.

THE FUTURE of Lincoln University is a more complex question. Located within fifty miles of the University of Missouri, some may say it should be closed in the interest of economy. This reasoning, however, could also be applied to the University of Missouri, since there are great universities only a few hours away in Illinois. Missouri, of course, will not be closed—for reasons more important than economic considerations. And so, too, there are other than economic factors to be weighed when the question of closing Lincoln is broached.

In a non-segregated school system forces may come into play to increase both the size and the usefulness of Lincoln University. The proportion of white to colored students at Lincoln will be the opposite of that at Missouri, and each should make its contribution to the development of a unified nation. In these times the public interest demands that the quality of instruction at Lincoln be improved and that white students in the community be encouraged to go there. There is an

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increasing need for the interracial education of white Americans.

Negroes who conceive of themselves not as hangers-on of our American culture but as meriting a place in its creative heart will not treat lightly the fate of their scholars. To admit in connection with integration that it is impossible to eat one's cake and have it too is to consent to the elimination of Negroes from college teaching or at least to their existence by sufferance on the periphery of sympathetic white faculties. The racial consequences of this would be manifestly regressive. Moreover, colleges for Negroes have such significance for Negro youth that their closing could result in a net cultural loss to the race.

Since "integration at any price" may work against the interests of colored people, Negro leaders, in their laudable struggle for the abolition of segregation in education, should perhaps curb their zeal for democracy and their anticipation of martyrdom lest they find themselves taking one step forward and two back.

FAILURE IN AUSTRIA

Poor People Get Poorer . . *by Charles A. Hoffman*

WITH fewer than seven million people and no military forces Austria has no need for United States arms, but it occupies a key position in United States strategic plans, and more than a billion dollars in E. R. P. funds has already been channeled into the country. The average Austrian, however, feels that his economic position is as precarious as it was before Marshall Plan help began.

A report prepared by the Economics Division of the Office of the High Commissioner for Austria emphasizes how slight a dent American aid has made on Austria's basic economic problems. And it suggests no way to utilize that aid to bring about the economic and political reforms that are necessary if the Austrian people are ever to enjoy a decent standard of living.

A non-Communist Austrian newspaper recently ran a front-page editorial acknowledging the unprecedented generosity of the Americans but bitterly attacking E. R. P. officials for allowing Austrian politicians to pursue their ruinous policies. "After seven years of peaceful development," it said, "in which E. R. P. credit has provided many times the amount of money otherwise available from government sources, we have arrived today exactly where we might have expected to be at the end of a war—facing a menacing inflation."

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Among the reasons for this crisis the editorial cited both "the government's irresponsible spending, on the principle that we can throw money out of the window whether we have it or not because the Americans will give us more, and the blind faith shown by the Americans in retaining practically no control over the uses to which E. R. P. credit is put."

The editorial then complained that the use of American money to bolster the Austrian economy had enabled the government to escape the consequences of its failure to plan or take positive action on such problems as administrative and tax reform, how to increase productivity and exports, how to improve credit facilities, and how to change the oppressive licensing system which is strangling trade. The government believes, it concluded, that "the specter of communism can still squeeze out dollars. With sour-sweet mien, it continues to make promises, but fundamentally everything will remain the same."

TO AN AMERICAN the Austrian idea of "free enterprise" is incomprehensible. Every business and trade is licensed. A man cannot start even a haberdashery without first serving years of apprenticeship at low wages. Then he may apply for a license, which will be granted by the government on the advice and consent of a trade association with whose members the applicant is a potential competitor. The law provides that if approval of an application will cause unhealthy competition, a license must be refused. Every approved licensee must become a member of the association under which his business is classified and conform to its regulations. These associations are powerful enough to direct the economic policies of the country. They firmly believe in restraint of competition and are the foundation of the most thoroughly cartelized economy in Europe. Prices are set artificially, and the interest of the consumer is ignored. The inevitable result is, of course, gross inefficiency and low productivity. It is a veritable medieval-guild system.

Unfortunately the Austrian licensing system has actually been strengthened by E. R. P. aid. The report of the Economics Division referred to above gives innumerable examples of the program's disregard of the principles under which it was inaugurated. For instance, when one of the most modern spinning mills in all Europe was presented as a free gift to Austria, it was widely proclaimed that the whole Austrian economy would benefit from the resulting rise in production. Three years later, the report declares, "though productivity has increased, there is no evidence as yet that the benefits have been passed on in the form of higher real wages to workers in the industry or lower consumer prices."

Since 1937 the number of textile dealers in Austria has more than doubled —from 7,000 to 14,000—but the turnover of goods has dropped by one-third. Profits, meanwhile, have increased from a pre-war average of 15 per cent

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to 35 per cent at present. With twice as many dealers but far less turnover, the profit margin has more than doubled!

Because yarn prices are controlled by the cartel they are more than 75 per cent higher in Austria than in France or Belgium. This not only pinches the Austrian consumer but makes textile exports—a vital need for Austria and a cornerstone of E. R. P. policy—almost impossible. Austrian manufacturers cannot compete with manufacturers in countries where yarn prices are competitive.

The marketing of agricultural products is tightly controlled through cooperatives and special chambers of agriculture. And in a country often dependent for its food on E. R. P. grants, the prices of imported foods are kept up through taxes and duties so that they will not undercut the prices set for the domestic product by the farmers' marketing organizations. Though millions of dollars have been poured into agriculture by the E. R. P. and hundreds of millions of schillings by the Austrian government, production is 20 per cent below the pre-war figure. Whether the farmers are selling their produce illegally or are using the aid money for personal needs, as the Socialist Party claims, one thing is certain: E. R. P. aid has not succeeded in increasing significantly the amount of food on the dinner table.

As early as 1949 the United States protested to the Austrian government that representatives of the official Austrian agencies designated to carry out purchasing and sales contracts under E. R. P. were misusing their position. These protests were simply ignored. Eventually the abuses became so flagrant that a Parliamentary investigation was authorized. In 1952 an official white paper revealed that the Credit Anstalt and the Länderbank, the two largest financial institutions in the country, both government owned, had been engaged in profiteering from E. R. P.-financed exports and imports. The Credit Anstalt had even transferred E. R. P. dollars from a government agency to privately owned agencies in the United States and Switzerland, thus enabling private interests, at the expense of the Austrian economy, to obtain dollars for their own unrestricted use. Two purchasing and sales agents appointed by the banks and a third appointed by the trade associations were accused of using their positions to extract rebates from buyers and sellers. Through the operations of their own private firms, these men, who were known to have unsavory reputations, had participated in the very government business they handled.

STRANGELY ENOUGH, American aid, planned as a weapon against Russia, has in several instances in Austria indirectly benefited Russia or its satellites. The price of wheat in Austria is controlled by statute, and farmers are supposed to deliver certain fixed quotas at the controlled price. Since this price is well below the world-market price, the farmers complain bitterly. Three years ago Soviet agents began buying wheat from farmers on the black market at a price above the controlled price but below the world-market price. Wheat disappeared from the Austrian market and a bread shortage developed. The People's Party, which draws its support from the farmers, was not inclined to make an issue of the farmers' failure to deliver their grain quotas; in fact, one important party spokesman and government official stated that the violations were on such a large scale that the government was helpless. After much shifting of the blame between the Socialist Party and the People's Party, the government appealed to the Americans to make up the grain deficit with E. R. P. grants. For once this seemed to be more than the Americans could swallow and they refused. Then the pressure was applied: the Communist menace was played up; the need of American help was emphasized. Austria got the wheat.

Since the war Austria has paid for practically all its imports from the satellite countries in dollars furnished by the United States. It has exported to them such valuable commodities as iron, steel, and aluminum, to say nothing of the oil which Russia ships out of Austria without paying compensation of any kind. The satellites were supposed to pay for their imports from Austria with foodstuffs, raw materials, and producers' goods, but they have repeatedly broken their agreement and have tried to pay with cheap items like buttons and glassware, which Austria makes itself.

The Austrian worker not only gets no benefit from American aid in the form of lower prices but is paid substandard wages. The average wage is roughly $40 a month, while prices of most articles are higher than they are here. No wonder the United States finds it hard to convince the Austrian man in the street that it is providing E. R. P. funds to help him and not for selfish, imperialist motives. What answer can there be to the agitator who points to the new American automobiles driven by the prosperous directors of a busy factory and then asks the workers, "Has the Marshall Plan helped you?"

Any objective observer of the European economic structure knows that revolutionary changes are long overdue. For five years we have attempted to promote reforms in the liberal, democratic

tradition. The results, particularly in Austria, are not encouraging. The ruling political and economic groups have failed to realize their precarious position or to take steps to save the society in which they flourish. Their attitude is one of unbelievable unconcern. They seem as fearful of American-sponsored reforms as of communism.

Americans should remember, moreover, that Russia acquired a tremendous share of Austrian industry and natural resources through an agreement among the four powers which granted it ownership of former German assets. In addition, the Russians have used the Austrian resources at their command to build a system of intricate and solid economic interests. Large as are the contributions we have made to Austria's wealth since the war, the United States, economically, will be in an extremely subordinate position in Austria after the peace treaty is signed. Russia has already demonstrated that it can make deals with Austrian cartels to strengthen its control. How long will Austria maintain its independence then? And what will happen to our strategic aims?

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BOOKS

Monsters and Men

A Review by H. H. Wilson

GIANT BUSINESS — THREAT TO DEMOCRACY. By T. K. Quinn. The Exposition Press. $3.75.

THIS is a useful and important book written by a former executive of one of America's major corporations. T. K. Quinn is a democratic humanist who understands that "our kind of limited democracy cannot long withstand the conflicting authoritarian economic cancer."

One of the greatest sources of danger for any society is confusion about the nature and implications of existing institutions and practices. In the United States we are inclined to assume that we live in a society characterized by a free-enterprise economy. This is a fantasy that serves to perpetuate the irrational, to blind us to dangerous trends in both our economy and our political practices, and to restrict our capacity for creative change. In reality institutions and practices have developed in our society which contradict basic assumptions of political democracy. Furthermore, the danger is compounded when institutions and pressures appear to thrust forward to positions of power charismatic leaders or egocentric psychopaths.

To warn us that in the process of creating an enormous productive capacity we have changed the whole economic foundation of our society Mr. Quinn draws on his experience in General Electric and as a consultant to small business firms. He recognizes that democratic values and institutions stem from economic and social conditions that existed during much of our national history. These conditions no longer exist:

> We have changed from a nation of small capitalists into a nation of hired employees. No longer can the majority of our people realize themselves in their work. The work of three-fourths of them is not their own but an item in the business plans and operations of others. Economic balance, formerly achieved by each one acting freely, is no less certainly attempted by centralized authorities allocating men and materials to specified assignments. This shifting of economic security from property ownership to job-holding has also endangered political freedom, which is always dependent upon economic freedom.

This means that unless positive counteracting measures are introduced, our political and social institutions will be drastically reorganized. The United States of the future is being shaped by the economic structure we have created.

TODAY ours is an economy dominated by giant, quasi-private collectives, with government permanently installed as governor and general insurance fund. Though we protest against creative, positive planning by government, every sector of the economy has called upon government to eliminate risk and, in many cases, to legalize the elimination of competition, to absorb loss, and to guarantee profit. One result is that we confront a dual problem—the need to develop effective techniques for controlling formal government agencies and their bureaucracies and also for controlling the policy and actions of huge private collectives. It is worth emphasizing that these private collectives—corporations—are instruments of power and that they have many of the attributes of government. For the monster corporation is an economic state ruled by non-elected, self-perpetuating officers. "It is a device which . . . threatens to undermine the foundations of free society and create a tyranny more ruthless than any mankind has ever known."

After this hard-hitting analysis it is disquieting to consider the solutions Mr. Quinn proposes. He advocates federal incorporation of concerns doing interstate and foreign business; the prevention of mergers and the dissolution of those already existing; prevention of the building of retail chains by major corporations; the extension of R. F. C. loans to aid small business; the extension of price-maintenance laws and encouragement of "non-destructive" competition; and insistence that efficiency take account of social welfare.. These are measures intended to re-create something like a free competitive economy, with decisions made through the mechanism of a free market.

Mr. Quinn is convinced of the creative potential of relatively small business, in part because he knows of "no original invention [in the line of household appliances] . . . made by any of the giant laboratories or corporations, with the possible exception of the household garbage grinder." And he so fears "the totalitarian ultimate in the hands of communism or in fascistic Big Business" that he "would deliberately subsidize the democracy of smaller units if necessary." This, he believes, can begin with a planned program of decentralization of great corporations. If decentralization fails, "if I have to choose between the rulership of monster private corporations on the one hand and too big government on the other, I shall unhesitatingly choose the latter, for at least I have an effective vote in government. I have none in monster business, not even as a stockholder."

THERE ARE many possible reservations about such a program. Basically it is inadequate in conception and timing, as compared with Mr. Quinn's analysis of the situation. It underestimates the power factor involved and ignores the actuality that we have reached a point of no return. Mr. Quinn says, for example, that it may even be impossible to get so much as a federal incorporation law: "The truth about the economy has been obscured by paid agents and publications and the influence of lobbies and dollars." Despite this awareness he seems to minimize the fact that big business and big government have already merged. The Republican Administration reveals the impossibility of differentiating between private corporate power and governmental power. We live now in a corporate society in which economic and political power merge as we move toward a garrison state. "While we fight

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H. H. Wilson, a contributing editor of The Nation, *is professor of political science at Princeton and author of "Congress: Corruption and Compromise."*

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totalitarianism from without, we encourage it from within."

There is no effective opposition to this development. No section of the public, no important organized group, is prepared to work for the restoration of a free competitive economy. Even if this were not the case, there are some who would deny both the feasibility and the desirability of the effort. For though Mr. Quinn believes that "the so-called crises of capitalism are brought about by its abuses," others are convinced that they are inherent in its structure. He admits that economic stabilization "involves a degree of planning or over-all regulation" but fears the bureaucracy and centralization of socialism. It is no deprecation of a valiant author to conclude that we are left with the problem of inventing social techniques and institutions which will make possible effective control of power and prevent subjugation of human beings.

New Books in Brief

Love and Pleasure

MY HERO. By Maude Hutchins. New Directions. $3. Highly recommended as a supplement, or antidote, to "The Second Sex." Mme de Beauvoir discussed everything about sex except love or pleasure; Mrs. Hutchins describes in effect nothing else but that. In existentialist terms she is a remarkable example of an immanence so complete, powerful, and beguiling that it is transcendent. And how! "My Hero" has less solidity perhaps than her previous work, "A Diary of Love." It is less deliberately shocking and directly physical; but full of wit, gaiety, and charm. In plain terms Mrs. Hutchins is an original. She is on the side of the gods—the pagan gods—and she speaks with the voice of a mischievous angel.

Provocative Economics

ECONOMIC CHANGE. By Simon Kuznets. Norton. $4.50. This collection of essays written over the last twenty years by a distinguished economist and statistician who had much to do with the development of national-income measures strikingly combines technical mastery and imaginative vision. Most though not all of the essays can be easily understood by an interested lay reader, and such a reader will surely find in them a concern for the meaning of economic change most provocative of reflection. Among the long-run developments that Mr. Kuznets analyzes are the closing of frontiers, the decline in birth rates, the shift of populations to cities, the rapid progress of industrialization, and the growth of trade restrictions all over the world. He concludes that the rate of growth in output in the Western world has slackened, that our increases in national income may not reflect parallel increases in human welfare, and that international comparisons of national income are of uncertain value. A most gentle complaint could be made that Mr. Kuznets has often only hinted where one would have appreciated a full story.

Story Teller

THE VAGRANT MOOD. Six Essays. By W. Somerset Maugham. Doubleday. $3. Perhaps Mr. Maugham is neither sufficiently passionate as a man nor sufficiently concentrated as a writer to be a great novelist. Perhaps he usually either transforms his material too little or transforms it in the wrong way by making it seem artificial instead of intense. But he is a superb retailer of anecdotes, reminiscences, and impressions when he merely gives them a slight novelistic touch without actually making fiction out of them. Several of the so-called essays in the present volume are admirable examples of the genre and not really the worse for a certain diffuseness which makes them all the easier to read. Edith Wharton pontificating on contemporary art and music as well as on literature, and being intolerably right about everything, may be a caricature but is probably revealing as well as funny. Augustus Hare, writing his guidebooks in his own country house and editing out of the household Prayer Book all the passages in glorification of

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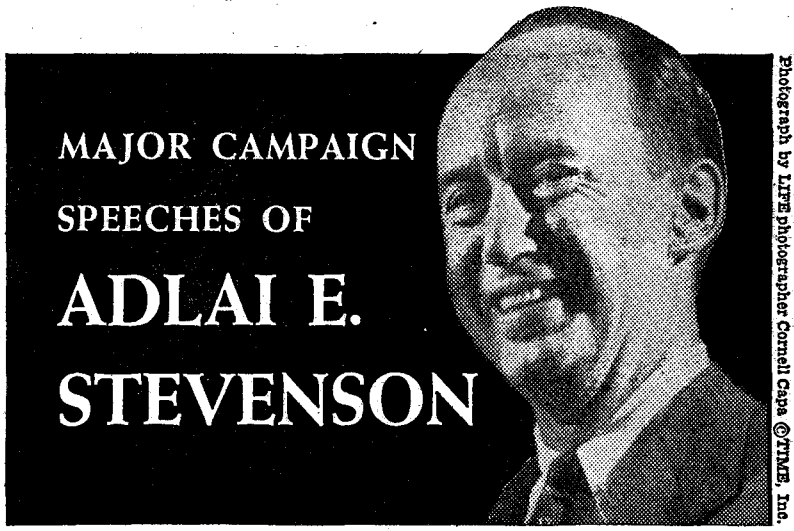

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God because, as he said in perfect seriousness, "God is certainly a gentleman, and no gentleman cares to be praised to his face," may be hard to believe, but no harder than most of what was said and acted upon in that vanished world of maids carrying cans of hot water and curates who came in by the servants' entry which Mr. Maugham describes with something remotely like the loving irony of Clarence Day recalling life with father.

Essays by Orwell

SUCH, SUCH WERE THE JOYS. By George Orwell. Harcourt, Brace. $3.50. Although "Animal Farm" and "1984" made the late George Orwell something of a hero to the professional anti-Communists, he had no more in common with them than he had with the professional apologists for Moscow. As this posthumous collection of essays shows once again, he was a fierce hater of injustice, of tyranny, and of cant, no matter in what cause it was uttered. Primarily political in his interests, he held aloof, as a writer, from political organizations, since "acceptance of *any* political discipline seems to be incompatible with literary integrity." That integrity is stamped on every page of this too brief volume, which covers a variety of subjects ranging from anti-Semitism in England to the writings of Henry Miller.

The piece from which the book takes its title is a fragment of autobiography, the author's reminiscences of the English preparatory school into which he was thrust at the tender age of eight. Under a headmaster who was a sadistic snob he suffered a traumatic experience that clearly left both physical and psychic marks. Here he relives that experience with poignant intensity and yet comments on it objectively. It is a literary achievement that this reader found almost unbearably moving.

Jeans the Astronomer

SIR JAMES JEANS. A Biography by the late E. A. Milne. Cambridge. $4. A more or less official memoir which includes a sketch of Jeans's life but is devoted principally to an account and evaluation of his contributions to mathematical physics and astronomy, with some attention also to the popular books he wrote enthusiastically somewhat late in life. Some of the technical portions can be understood by the layman who is sufficiently interested, but a good deal will be comprehensible only to those who feel at home with highly generalized differential equations. Milne, a fellow-scientist and personal friend, is frank in discussing what he regards as the scientific limitations as well as the achievements of his subject. One of his general conclusions is that though Jeans accepted the "new" physics, he made his most important contributions within the field of the traditional. Perhaps the lay reader will be most amused by the unconscious humor of the paragraphs on the allegedly inevitable death of the universe by "running down." When one remembers what a popular subject this was only a few years ago and with what awe "the second law of thermodynamics" was invoked by those with only the foggiest notion of what it meant, there is something hilarious about Milne's solemn assurance: "I am now convinced that an unconditional prediction of a heat death for the universe is an overstatement."

On Medieval Poetry

THE SPIRIT OF ROMANCE. By Ezra Pound. New Directions. $4. This book, first published in 1910, is a monument to the prejudices of genius. In it, without condescending to state his critical principles, Pound evaluates the work of late medieval poets who wrote in the Romance tongues, often passing swift and aphoristic judgments. He ranges with astonishing, though not infallible, erudition over languages and climes, touching upon the troubadours of Provence, the epic of the Cid, Dante, Villon, Lope de Vega, and Camoëns. Bypassing the cultural incrustations which have obscured the artistic qualities of many of these works, Pound fastens firmly on whatever is crisp, vivid, and exact. His taste is a premonition of the regard for precision which was to become a leading principle with him and link him to imagism. As Pound was ready to admit, the volume is more like a notebook than a finished work, but its disorder offers many adventures. It had a salutary effect on the literary tastes of 1910, and this reissue with notes added later by Pound himself will enable it to continue its mission. In addition, it is a generous anthology of valuable and limpid translations which Pound succeeds marvelously in using as a form of criticism in themselves.

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Theater

Harold Clurman

PERHAPS one of the marks of the true New Yorker and the real theater lover, as distinguished from the merely fashionable one, is his adventurous pursuit of entertainment in the odd spots of the town, the city's cordial "underground." While East Fifty-seventh Street (the Washington Square Players), Grand Street (the Neighborhood Playhouse), MacDougall Street (the Provincetown Players), Sheridan Square (Macgowan-Jones and O'Neill), and East Fourteenth Street (the Civic Repertory Theater) were once the places where the enlightened playgoer sought the most stimulating fare our theater had to offer, the so-called off-Broadway theater is now usually an apologetic and discouraged phenomenon—possibly because everything off-center in our life today has lost its confidence and spunk. Still, if one has forbearance, hope, and humility, one may find special pleasure in treading the theater's byways.

One playgoer certainly was happier during the past fortnight on Christopher Street (Theatre de Lys), where the Touring Players gave a series of three one-acters by Ellen Violett bearing the collective title "Which Way Is Home?" than he was at the Forty-eighth Street Theater at a revival of the 1937 farce hit "Room Service." Not that the latter is a poor piece: I still found some of it funny—despite a so-so performance—but at best I was amused as by a rather perfunctory joke that someone might tell me on my way out of a restaurant.

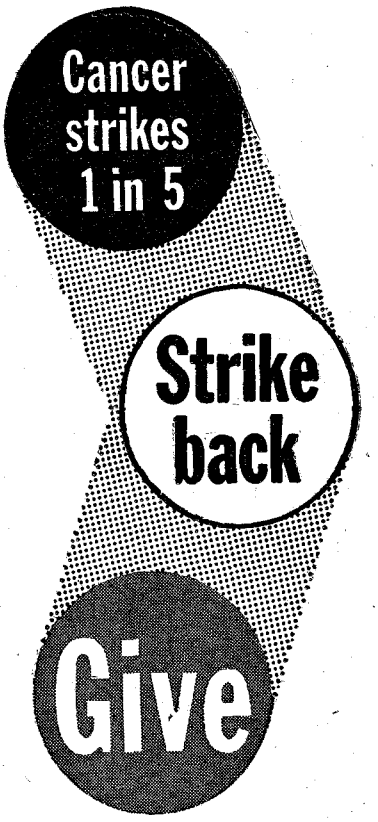
Of the three playlets presented by the Touring Players the most satisfactory by far is "Brewsie and Willie," based on a story by Gertrude Stein. In this rambling yet unified stretch of dialogue which is both naturalistic and stylized, Gertrude Stein—through her adapters Ellen Violett and Liz Blake—has caught and interpreted for us the basic homelessness of the G. I. at the end of the last war, and through him the basic confusion in all of us.

Tenderly and wisely Gertrude Stein points out the fear we suffer from being at once a pioneer people (yes, even now!), with eager, inquiring, youthful minds, and credulous, gullible victims of ready-made answers which have very little to do with our daily experience. We are afraid of experience, afraid of life, because it baffles and upsets us by being so persistently contradictory to the prefabricated concepts with which we approach it. We are immensely delighted at our shrewd discovery that there is no Santa Claus, and we howl with pain because there is none. We proclaim our virile capacity to face the world, and we shrink like scared children at every actual confrontation. Hog-tied by materialism, we are ineradicable idealists. We cannot reconcile our "practical realism," upon which we are constantly urged to rely, with our idealistic impulses, which torture us with their unexpected but unrelenting intrusions.

The sensitive American—he who has not allowed himself to be altogether canned—is an emotional eccentric. His craziness bears witness to his aliveness and is one of his most engaging qualities. He must not be put in a position where he has to beg permission to be pessimistic; he must learn to give his optimism a foundation in fact. He must come to understand life not in terms of "yes" or "no" but in terms of "yes and no." Gertrude Stein says all this and more in "Brewsie and Willie" with a curious directness that masks itself behind a studied casualness. I half suspect her of having been a good woman!

The Touring Players act the Stein play with a certain unvarnished and slightly awkward naturalness which helps it. The company that calls itself Current Stages (Cherry Lane Theater) is well cast as to type for most of the parts in O'Casey's "The Plough and the Stars," but is frequently unintelligible in its attempt at Hibernian speech.

The play comes off, nevertheless, in its power and poetry. How lucky poor tormented Sean was after all! Life offered him a strategic position amid the Dublin tenements, with their abounding riches of humor, tragedy, and native eloquence, as well as the vantage



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point of being a witness at the moment of dramatic crisis in the days of the Easter rebellion. Thus he was able to write truly contemporary realistic plays which are passionate in feeling and prophetic in utterance. Here the distinction between prose and poetry vanishes without detriment to either. One is reminded of the lines in Chekhov's "Seagull": "I come more and more to the conviction that it is not a question of new and old forms; but that what matters is that a man should write without thinking of forms at all, write because it springs freely from his soul."

What most of our playwrights nowadays seem to lack is roots in some reality more fertile and inspiring than their professional world provides. Sprung from a deep soil of reality, the fanatically and explosively honest sensibility of O'Casey was able to produce three or four of the most expressive plays of our time.

Films

Manny Farber

"OFF LIMITS" has Bob Hope horsing and miming like a Mack Sennett employee. The story casts him as a prize-fight manager in the army who smart-talks the most inept pug (Mickey Rooney) into winning the lightweight title. The part disproves the idea that Hope's comedy lies mainly in his fast verbal satire, for here he creates a many-faceted character who is as boastful as Falstaff, as unmanly as Lloyd Hamilton, and as good-humored, in a misanthropic way, as Bugs Bunny.

An example of Hope's flexible characterization is in the scene where he cons his fighter at a 200-word-a-minute speed, and while the terms "Hook him," etc., seem apt for the situation, they are delivered with a dreaming fool's mien and mismated connections that hint the manager is not only contemptuous of both battlers but not even watching. Sometimes Hope gets feelings of deep distaste, disdain, into a single keen-eyed stare, a haughty quiver of his body, or a jutting of his leaden underslung jaw a fraction of an inch in the direction of his victim. But always his malevolence is so mixed either with comic self-debasement or utter selflessness as to make him seem precariously vulnerable.

Although the audience is treated to the entire range of great silent comedies —violence, exchange of insults, intense humiliation and embarrassed apology, ludicrous mix-ups, and Don Juan love-making—somehow Hope never creates the laugh that kills. It is not that he refuses to milk or build a gag but possibly that he just looks too normal and prosperous to evoke the delighted rush of relief—"Gee whiz, that guy's worse off than I am"—that the pathos of Chaplin, Keaton, and Langdon achieved. Or possibly Hope's style, which combines precision of timing with intellectual suppleness and finesse, puts too fine an edge on all this sort of foolishness.

In one sequence from the dark ages of situation comedy he scratches and paints a general's mile-long black sedan, believing it belongs to a loathed gangster. For ten minutes of screen time he gets your thoughts away from the ancient heaviness of the gag by doing an elf-child's display of grace and roguish self-delight. He paints fetching abstract patterns with broad calcimine strokes, while giving you the footwork of a sissified Nijinsky. It is really swell, but you are reacting not to humor but to cleverness.

In the hands of director George Marshall, a sort of Studs Lonigan distant cousin of Sennett, the film emerges as an uneven work that often hugs bad gags and zooms past promising situations. Marshall has an uncommonly good eye for hard-boiled harried types; he turns Marilyn Maxwell into a classic figure of brassiness. The list of assistant laugh getters—Rooney, Stanley Clements, Eddie Mayehoff—promises more than it achieves. Making brief personal appearances are some muscular fellows —Dempsey, Tommy Harmon, Art Aragon—who seem almost gentle in the midst of the pratfalls and mad activity.

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Records

B. H. Haggin

SCHUBERT'S great song-cycle "Die Winterreise" is given the best performance I have heard on LP—by Karl Schmitt-Walter, baritone, with Hubert Giesen at the piano (London). The voice is a fine one, though tremulous now and then; and the singing achieves moving expressive effect with unfailing respect for the shape of the musical phrase. I question only the insufficiently animated pace of "Die Post"; and I think that the pianist or the recording engineer should have made the piano parts count for more in the joint performance than they do. The texts are given; and the accompanying notes are best ignored.

Many of the Strauss songs sung by Anny Felbermayer, soprano, and Alfred Poell, baritone, with Viktor Graef at the piano (Vanguard) are unfamiliar to me; but it is the few well-known ones that I like: the "Traum durch die Dämmerung" and "Ruhe, meine Seele" superbly sung by Poell, the "Hat gesagt, bleibt's nicht dabei," "Ach Lieb', ich

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muss nun scheiden," and "Die Nacht" sung by Felbermayer with a crystalline voice that gets to be a little monotonous. Texts are given; but the third stanza of "Hat gesagt," with the point of the song, is missing.

Several of Strauss's best songs—"Ständchen," "Traum durch die Dämmerung," "Zueignung," and "Freundliche Vision"—and the sugary "Morgen" are sung by Suzanne Danco, soprano, with Guido Agosti at the piano (London). The exquisite voice and phrasing that are exactly for "Ständchen" and "Morgen" are heard also in the others, which seem to me to call for darker coloring. On the same record are Mozart's mildly engaging "Das Veilchen," "Abendempfindung," "Dans un bois solitaire," and "An Chloë." The texts would be more useful than the accompanying notes. The recorded voice blasts occasionally.

The exquisite voice and phrasing are heard again in Schumann's "Liederkreis" (London), and are exactly right for the lovely "Mondnacht"; but the dialogue of "Waldesgespräch" calls for contrasting vocal colors. These used to be the only songs of the cycle that I cared for; but I have been impressed this time by the dramatic atmosphere of "Zwielicht." Texts are given.

Beethoven's lovely song-cycle "An die ferne Geliebte," his earlier Gellert songs, and Schubert's "Nacht und Träume" (one of his greatest), "Fischerweise," "Auf dem Wasser zu singen," "Im Abendroth," "Die junge Nonne," and "Die Forelle" are sung by Elena Nikolaidi, contralto, with Jan Behr at the piano (Columbia). She sings them well, but with a voice that has lost the sensuous richness it once had. Only English summaries.

Danco's Recital of Seventeenth and Eighteenth Century music (London), with Agosti at the piano and Jeanne Demessieux at the organ, offers one piece of declamatory arioso by Schütz that I find uninteresting, but other pieces that are lovely: Bach's "Bist du bei mir," "Komm, süsser Tod," and "Warum betrübst du dich," Gluck's "O del mio dolce ardor," Alessandro Scarlatti's "Sè Florindo è fedele," Caldara's "Come raggio del sol," Durante's "Danza, danza," and Caccini's "Amarilli." The singing again is exquisite. And again notes instead of texts.

Three Mozart arias—*Ach, ich fühl's* from "Die Zauberflöte," *Venite, inginocchiatevi* from "Figaro," and *L'amerò, sarò costante* from "Il Re Pastore"—are sung very beautifully by Hilde Gueden with the Vienna Philharmonic under Erede (London). She also sings well in the Motet K.165 "Exultate, Jubilate," which I care less for; but her voice, as recorded, doesn't sound as beautiful and blasts occasionally. Again notes instead of texts.

Famous Operatic Excerpts Volume 2 (London) offers excellent performances by Fernando Corena, bass, of three delightful comic arias from Donizetti's "L'Elisir d'amore" and "Don Pasquale" and Rossini's "La Gazza Ladra"; and a good performance by Aldo Protti, baritone, of *Largo al factotum* from "The Barber of Seville," but one of *Il balen* from "Il Trovatore" in which his voice is dry and has an excessive vibrato. Again notes instead of texts.

An RCA Victor extended-play 45 is mentioned here because it offers *Ella giammai m'amò* from "Don Carlo," one of the outstandingly impressive demonstrations of Verdi's artistic powers—like the Sleepwalking Scene from "Macbeth" and the *Dio! mi potevi scagliar* from "Otello"—and a performance which is a demonstration of the impressive powers that still are Pinza's. Frank Miller plays the cello solo; Leinsdorf conducts the Victor orchestra. Pinza also sings the Catalogue Aria from "Don Giovanni" with an orchestra conducted by Wallenstein.

Art Notes

HERBERT FERBER has had several one-man shows of his sculptures, and his work is found in leading national collections. His abstract forms are done in lead. They are strong, spiraling compositions, architectural in conception.—*Betty Parsons to May 9.*

EDWARD MELCARTH'S first show in several years presents scenes from contemporary Venetian life. The colors are bright and sunny; the style reflects his interest in the Renaissance masters. He has also devoted several canvases to American scenes.—*Durlacher to May 2.*

HENRY KALLEM, a Pepsi-Cola prize-winner some years ago, shows figures, city scenes, and fantastic images. His design is geometrical and his colors are balanced.—*Salpeter to May 9.*

MARK TOBEY, famous West Coast modernist, recently exhibited at the Whitney. These twelve paintings evoke representational images but are abstract in concept. The colors give evidence of Oriental influences.—*Willard to May 2.*

BYRON BROWNE'S twenty-second one-man show in as many years reveals a change in style. He now paints in semi-abstract forms and dramatic color. —*Grand Central Moderns to May 2.*

MANFRED SCHWARTZ, who is represented in collections all over the world, exhibits brilliantly colored semi-abstractions of figures, circus scenes, and other subjects in his first show since 1949.—*Fine Arts Associates to May 9.*

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Letters

No "Father" Needed

Dear Sirs: Alexander Werth is to be congratulated on his sympathetic and generally understanding comment (The *Nation,* March 14) on the death of Stalin. I venture, however, to suggest that he has insufficiently appreciated that it does serve to mark what is, in effect, the end of an era—the era which started before November 7, 1917. This is perhaps understandable, since Werth himself belongs to that era, in which the peoples of the Soviet Union looked to their political leader to fulfil the "father" role. It is perhaps difficult for him, therefore, to realize that most of that generation in the Soviet Union are now dead. . . . The Soviet people of today have achieved a higher state of maturity in which Malenkov, one of themselves, can amply satisfy what they require of him. Since Werth has used Freudian terminology, I would follow suit and say that the Soviet peoples do not now need a "father.". . .

EDGAR P. YOUNG,
Commander, R. N., Retired
London, England

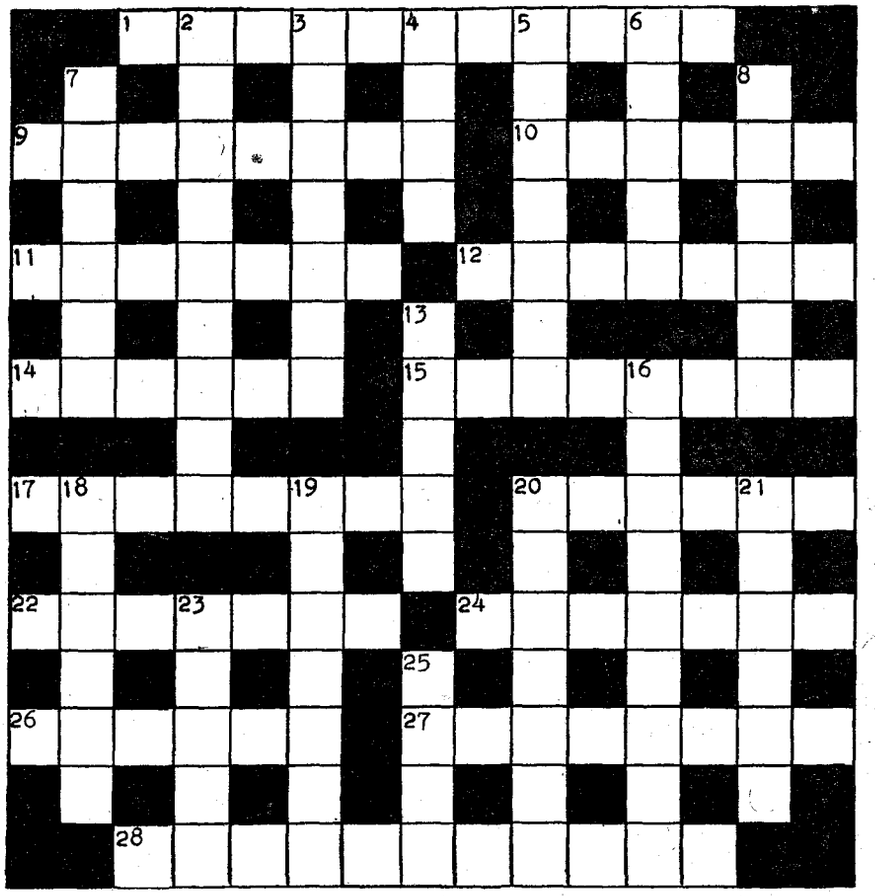
The Smear Technique

Dear Sirs: The truth about McCarthy, McCarran, Velde, Jenner, and lesser evil lights in the Congress should come out soon. If men like this can be elected, a fraud must have been perpetrated against the people in their states. . . . Did the people get the facts from the press on all the candidates? Certainly we know that backers with money can get mediocre candidates elected. It is one of the evils of our election procedure, and we ought to expose it more often before 1954 and not be afraid of being called "left-wingers," "Commie lovers," and so on. These attacks against teachers, professors, ministers, and labor leaders are certainly planned, and we had better recognize the pattern. Whisper, insinuate, write anonymous letters to the F. B. I., phone or write to the Winchell type, or the Fulton Lewis office, where investigators piece together bits of unfounded statements for the broadcasts. In the next few months the charges are made, repeated, and rehashed until some readers and listeners let the smear words stick in their minds. . . .

I saw the remains of political prisoners at Buchenwald as a member of the

Crossword Puzzle No. 513

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 13 down. Where to find what-not articles in a Colonial kitchen, just before you get in deep? (11, 5)
9 Game suggesting the Dance of the Apprentices? (8)
10 Slayer of the human race, occasionally involved in current change. (6)
11 See 24.
12 Those who take this stand should be able to bear it. (7)
14 Would you consider it soap in the mouth of one who speaks vulgarly? (6)
15 This record is probably over your head. (4, 4)
17 Implying no dearth of water from the pump, as you know. (4, 4)
20 It's immature to cry out with an expression of pain. (6)
22 It takes poise to acquire form, elementally. (7)
24 and 11. In the ground if at peace, in the head if at war? (4, 3, 7)
26 Even stupid West Pointers can pass in this. (6)
27 Those of state find a dish on a second appearance. (8)
28 Austerity linen, after part of the 16? (5, 6)

DOWN

2 and 25. Typified by Harvard O, William and Mary O? (3, 6, 4)
3 Not original picture producers, to reveal certain aims. (7)
4 Little girl who sounds as though a stroke might have fatal implications? (4)
5 Women who do this might leave well enough alone. (7)
6 No one is left out, even if this is exhausted. (3, 2)
7 Masculine articles in the future? (6)
8 Mineral involved in a fraudulent amount? (6)
13 See 1 across.
16 Somewhat smaller than a pleasure yacht! (5, 4)
18 Gray implied some blossoms are created to turn rosy like this. (6)
19 If the mop were shaken, this might come out. (7)
20 Displayed by stout fellows a century before our time? (7)
21 Available ring position? (2, 4)
23 A Dickensian yarn might have such a gimmick. (5)
25 See 2 down.

• ✠ •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 512

ACROSS:—1 AIDES; 4 WASSAILED; 9 CONGENIAL; 10 AMBER; 11 ON THE SPOT; 12 SOLDO; 13 TRUNK LINES; 17 UNROMANTIC; 21 OWNER; 22 PEIGNOIRS; 23 AMATI; 24 ENIGMATIC; 25 ADDRESSEE; 26 LAPIN.

DOWN:—1 ANCHOR; 2 DENOTE; 3 SKEWER; 4 WHIPPERSNAPPERS; 5 SPLIT INFINITIVE; 6 ADAM'S ALE; 7 LIBELING; 8 DORMOUSE; 14 AUTOMATA; 15 DRUNKARD; 16 AMORTIZE; 18 ENAMEL; 19 TIPTOP; 20 ASHCAN.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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American First Army, and the same thing can happen here if Senator McCarthy passes on the loyalty of citizens, or Fulton Lewis, along with the American Legion, starts the fire under the books, or Jenner and Velde set educational policy in our land.

THOMAS E. KENDALL

Walnut Creek, Cal.

LECTURES

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3 announcements*

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Spring Book Number

OUR ISSUE OF MAY 2 will carry a double punch: a big Spring Book section and a special feature entitled Eisenhower's First Hundred Days. The book section will itself be studded with features: a review by Maxwell Geismar of Leon Edel's biography of Henry James, which has already been greeted in the trade as a publication event of great magnitude; a unique essay on that lustiest of literary infants, science fiction, by Ray Bradbury, the acknowledged maestro of galactic literature; a dramatic report by William Murray on the new threat of book censorship—this one engineered not by the bluenoses but by the Red-baiters.

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